2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1.

The central points in the earlier history of Turkistan are two. The first is the Mongol deluge which, under Chingiz Khan, swept over the land in the years 1219–24; the second the thunderbolt launched by Timur nearly two centuries later (1379–1405). Timur, though of Mongol antecedents, used Chaghatai Turkish as his mother tongue and belonged to what Barthold [1] called *la tribu mongole turquisée* of the Barlas, established at the ancient twin city of Kesh [2] where the Kashka Darya issues from the mountains.

It will be found that the human material, and the forces applied to it, will fall into a more comprehensible order if viewed in periods divided by these two outstanding events in the history of Central Asia. But, before embarking on any analysis of these periods, there are a number of general distinctions and definitions that I must make, if there is to be any understanding of the people mixed together in the crucible which is Central Asia.

A reference to the map at the end of this book will show the reader the disposition of the peoples of Russian Central Asia, arranged as it stands today in accordance with the various languages, Turkic and Iranian, spoken by the agglomerations known loosely as Uzbeks, Kazaks, Karakalpaks, Kirghiz, Turkmens (all Turkish) and the Tajiks (Iranians). It will be seen that in more than one case the speakers of these languages overlap across the international frontiers into China, Afghanistan and Persia. There are also areas within the country in which Uzbek mingles with Tajik, Turkmen or Karakalpak, Kirghiz with Uzbek, and so on. Bilingualism in Uzbek and Tajik is common in areas of overlap, especially so in the towns from Khojent to Bukhara. Turkic Uzbek in the towns has lost its vowel harmony under Iranian influence, but has preserved it in the north of the Uzbek linguistic territory, where there was no such influence. On the other hand, the juxta-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 168.

[2] The modern name of these cities is Shahr-i-Sabz and Kitab. They are separated from Samarkand by the Takhta Karacha pass over a spur of the Hissar mountains.

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position and overlapping of Uzbek, Turkmen and Karakalpak in the Khorezm area, and of Uzbek and Turkmen in the area along the eastern frontier of Turkmenia, has produced border dialects which show strong traces of mutual influence, particularly in phonetics. The only sharp 'language frontier' is indeed that between the Kazaks and the Uzbeks — a fact which suggests the social and ethnic divergence between the steppe-dwellers and the more sedentary population of the south. Stock-origins are confused by migration and exchange, but this language frontier today is clear enough. It is not blurred by the existence of small Kazak groups, usually known as Kipchak Uzbeks, on Uzbek linguistic territory within Uzbekistan. The language there has sometimes been mistakenly regarded as the true Uzbek, but is in fact just a Kazak dialect and it is noteworthy that, in spite of the geographical overlap between these people and their Uzbek surroundings, they do not mix or intermarry much with their neighbours, so carrying the language distinction into their social life.

General ethnology provides us with numerous examples of cases in which speakers of any particular language have taken over their present tongue from other speakers, partly or completely losing their own in the process. The language of a particular tribe or people is, therefore, not necessarily an indication of that people's stock-origin and relations, and any evidence of the kind can only be used with the greatest care. Nevertheless, I venture to affirm that, for the greater part of the population in this part of the world, language does in fact give some indication of the peoples' stock-origin. This conclusion is justified if we bear in mind an important social factor, namely, that nomadic, semi-nomadic, or forcibly settled tribes speaking a Turkic language can safely be regarded as being of Turkish origin. This is because the Turk entered history as a nomad; it follows that, if nomadic antecedents are still attributable to him and he still speaks a Turkic tongue, that is strong evidence of his Turkish stock.

With sedentary and town populations speaking Tajik it can as safely be accepted that they are of Iranian stock-origin.

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This conclusion of course requires qualification in the case of the relatively few sedentary and town populations speaking only a Turkic language: in that case language is not a safe criterion, for these 'Turks' may be, and often are, turkized Tajiks. History shows many instances of other peoples adopting Turkish ways, but until recently very few of the adoption by Turks of the dress of other civilizations.[1] Many more of the town-dwellers are bilingual in Uzbek and Tajik; in their case this bilingualism points even more strongly to the Tajik or mixed origin of the individuals concerned. It was to sedentary dwellers of this kind, whether bilingual or speaking only Tajik, that the true Turks formerly applied the pejorative appellation of 'Sart'.

At the same time, the Iranization of the Turkic tongues in the southern cities is an illustration of the mingling of the raindrops of which I have spoken.[1] Lastly, the bilingualism of the oasis-strip from Khojent to Bukhara identifies specific points at which the Turkish flood passed on to leave Iranian islands unswamped by the inundations from the steppe and the mountains.

Behind all the parade of ethnology and linguistics it is well to look always for the essential difference between the settled cultivators and townsmen of the scattered oases of Transoxiana and the nomads of the northern and the western steppe (now the Kazak and Turkmen country). That is the indispensable fact, without which no insight can be obtained into the tangle of events passing for history in Central Asia. It is the old antithesis of Cain and Abel, so clear to eastern thought, a distinction always before the local leaders, on whose minds it was indelibly impressed by the events of the Basmachi struggle of 1918–24. We shall see in the subsequent analysis of periods that the settled population, whatever its ethnic origin, was for centuries exposed to Persian influence and immigration from the south, and was indeed for the first three hundred years after the Muslim conquest actually controlled by Persian rulers. One result of this contact was an indoctrination with the

[1] A notable exception is the Indianization of the Turks who followed Babur to India, due partly to the conscious policy of his grandson Akbar, but mainly to the small infusion of Turkish blood into India's vast body.

[1 [for metaphor, see cat. 116, pp 31-- Analyst]

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After the Turks came flooding in the Mongols. Much ink has been spilt by the learned in discussing the relationship between Mongol and Turk in Central Asian history. Confusion reigns in the use of such terms as Mongol, Tatar, Turk, Sart, Kazak and Uzbek, and there is a tendency to complicate the discussion still further by an approach through linguistics. For instance, Chuvash, a Turkic language spoken on the Volga, has a distinct admixture of Bulgar terms, and it is sometimes sought therefore to distinguish its speakers as the true representatives of the Golden Horde, who mingled with the Bulgars — an earlier-than-Mongol stock — upon the Volga. But even if the armies of Chingiz were themselves pure Mongols (and there is reason to believe they were not), the ultimate truth is that at that date this was a Turkish sea into which the Mongol rivers flowed. The Mongol civilization was absorbed by the Turkish civilization in Transoxiana, just as it was absorbed by the higher culture of China and Russia. The name of Chaghatai, the second son of the Mongol Chingiz, even became that of the literary Turkic language of the Eastern Turks, and, less than two centuries later, Timur himself, belonging to a tribe of Mongol origin, had become in all essentials a Turk. Perhaps the best way of setting this question in its true light is again to point to the last great Timurid, the Emperor Babur. Himself described on his father's side as descended in the fifth generation from Timur, and on his mother's side in the thirteenth generation from Chaghatai the second son of Chingiz — and so of Mongol ancestry on both sides — he writes in Turkish, and in his Memoirs [1] speaks with disdain of the Mughul (Mongol) race: 'Of all others', he says, 'the wretches of Mughuls were most active in unhorsing and stripping the stragglers'. And later in verse: [2]

Were the Mughuls angels, they would be bad,
Written in gold, evil would be the name Mughul.

[1] Bib. I, 61, p. 150.

[2] The verse may be an interpolation by Babur's son, the Emperor Humayun. But the argument stands.

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the steppe between the sedentary kingdoms of Maveraunnahr and the Mongols of the east. It was into this reservoir that the Mongol river poured, only to raise its level and cause it to overflow. The range of the reservoir was roughly coincident with the present Soviet Republic of Kazakistan. When the seasons pressed and nomadic life became hard, the tribes would prey on the sedentary population. Conversely, their numbers were often increased by the accession of groups who had rebelled against the authority of the dynasties in the oases, preferring a rover's life to submission, and it was to such groups that the name Kazak [1] came later to be applied. The steppe offers freedom to the venturesome, and many elements at different times were fused in these wandering populations. Ethnically, the farther removed from the towns with their underlying Persian stock, the closer to the traditional Tatar, [197] thick-bodied, small-eyed and with scanty hair. The Kipchak language was of the Turkic family. Many of Chingiz' soldiers were undoubtedly of this Turkish stock, and the Mongol way of life was slowly absorbed in that of the Turks, who were in a position to draw on the mixed Irano-Turkish culture of the sedentary populations.

It was these vagrants who would gather in loose confederations sometimes to plunder the resources of Maveraunnahr itself, sometimes in alliance with newcomers to sweep beyond Central Asia into farther fields.

As these processes worked themselves out, the various stocks crossed and mingled, joined and separated like the raindrops on the window. But, just as even today the nomad Turkish and Mongol cross can be seen in the typical Kazak, it is still possible to pick out in the sedentary population of the oases of Transoxiana a type which is in all respects, physical, mental and moral, at odds with the Kazak or the Turkmen of the steppe. The man of the oasis is often small-

[1] *Kazak* is an old Turkish word meaning a vagabond, and later a partisan or guerrilla. It means an outlaw who refuses to live a settled life, or who has fled from tyranny. Some have traced its derivation from *Kazmak*, to dig (but digging is just what Kazaks do not do), others from *Kaz*, a goose. Either derivation seems far-fetched. The word Cossack was taken from it and applied to the Russian who lived a similar life.

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Kipchak
Uzbek
Nogai

The Kent-Turks may even grasp that they are one nation with other Turks. . . . Seen from this point of view the extended use of the name Uzbek may be a stepping stone to the use of the name Turk to describe the national unity of Turkistan.

The Turkmen with his Oghuz ancestry I have already noted. He is rather to be grouped with the Western Turks. As for the Eastern Turks, I have put forward the tribal name Kipchak as typical of the Turkish stock of the steppe, upon which the Mongol deluge descended. After the Mongol conquest Kipchak disappears as the name of an *ulus*[1] from the pages of the Muslim chronicles. But the Kipchaks, with others like them, supplied the fundamental Turkish element which, overlaid by the Mongol invasion and having joined the Mongols in the wanderings of the Golden Horde, produced in time a mingled Turco-Mongol agglomeration of tribes. From this rough fashioning the Uzbek and the Nogai — also known as the Mangit — issued as pre-eminent. The process worked itself out over the whole range of country from Maveraunnahr, over the Urals, and down to the Volga and the Don, and it is on this ground some of the emigration claim that the cause of the Kazan Tatars of the Volga, and of the Bashkurds[2] in the Urals is one with that of the peoples who were later to be known as the Uzbeks and the Kazaks in Turkistan.

It is interesting, and typical of the Mongol-Turk confusion, that the Uzbek and the Nogai, Turkish tribes, took their name from eponymous Mongol princes of the house of Juchi, Chingiz' eldest son and father of the Golden Horde. The imaginative have given the name Uzbek an alternative derivation from the words *öz*, essence, spirit, self, and *beg*, a master — one who is captain of his soul. To each his choice, but Uzbek Khan (1312–40) was an historical prince of the line of Juchi. The picture emerging, which in the main conforms

[1] A Mongol or Turkish nation or tribe. The Pathans too use the word.

[2] The ethnologists set the Bashkurds in the Finno-Ugrian group. But the Bashkurd language belongs to the Turkic, not the Finno-Ugrian, branch of the Altaic system, and their country lay across the way of the Turco-Mongol migrations of the Golden Horde.

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Persian as the official language for administration and the law.[1] Literary Chaghatai, written in the Persian *shikasta* form of Arabic letters, has another and important liability, if regarded as a mode of transcription of a Turkic language. This is the relative weakness of the Arabic alphabet in vowel signs, and its consequent inability to express the very varied vowels of Turkic languages, and particularly the vowel qualities and harmonies. It is true that the form of Uzbek itself, as spoken at least in Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand, has become Persianized to the extent of losing its vowel quality and most of its vowel harmony. But, even so, Chaghatai Arabic expresses the vowel sounds inadequately, the more so because in the Farghana and Yese (Turkistan) forms of Uzbek the harmonies are still to be found. *A fortiori* Chaghatai, based (as Babur tells us) on the purest Uzbek, spoken then as today in the Andijan district of Farghana, was not a medium easily adaptable to the languages spoken in Kirghizia or in the countries now known as the Kazak and Turkmen steppe. There is an elaborate system of comparative morphology to be acquired before it becomes possible for a student, even on paper, to relate the various Eastern Turkic languages, *e.g.* Uzbek, Kazak and Turkmen, one to the other. In speech the difference is great enough to cause difficulty of understanding between even native speakers. The path of the reformer seeking to establish one language as current coin for all Turkistan is therefore not so easy as has often been suggested.[2] As a long-term project, if circumstances were favourable, it should not be impossible. But, as we know, the Soviets are doing all they can to promote linguistic and other distinctions between the five republics, and it follows that any move towards assimilation runs counter to tendencies within modern Turkistan itself. None the less, as a social and political

[1] Exactly the same process can be seen at work today in Afghanistan. The Barakzai Sardars who rule the country, themselves of Afghan blood, often can not even talk Pashtu, the Afghan tongue. Persian is the official language.

[2] A group of émigrés in Germany, mainly Uzbek, issue a journal, *Millij Türkistan*, in a language which they call *ortanili*, or the middle tongue. It is really Uzbek, with a few extraneous words, written in an alphabet adapted from the Turkish Roman. It is an interesting experiment.

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REFERENCE

Kazak

Kirghiz

Turkmen

Uzbek

Taranchi, Turki

Karakalpak

Tajik

Broken lines:- Scattered and scarce population

No marks within U.S.S.R.:- Practically uninhabited, (deserts, high mountains, etc.)

To avoid complexity, areas of Russian and Ukrainian settlement in the south have not all been marked

International frontier

Boundaries of Republics

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

1. Völker- und Sprachenkarte des vorderen Orients, Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme, 1943.
2. Dominant Linguistic Groups along the Southern USSR Boundary, CIA, 11830.
3. Географический Атлас СССР, для средней школы, Москва 1950.
4. Maps and descriptions of the distribution of languages in Western and Soviet publications on the languages involved: e.g. A. von Gabain, K. Menges, J. Benzing, G. Jarring, E. D. Polivanov, and many others.
5. Results of systematic questioning of former inhabitants of the various republics, and particularly of linguistically overlapping areas.

[facing page 272 - A]

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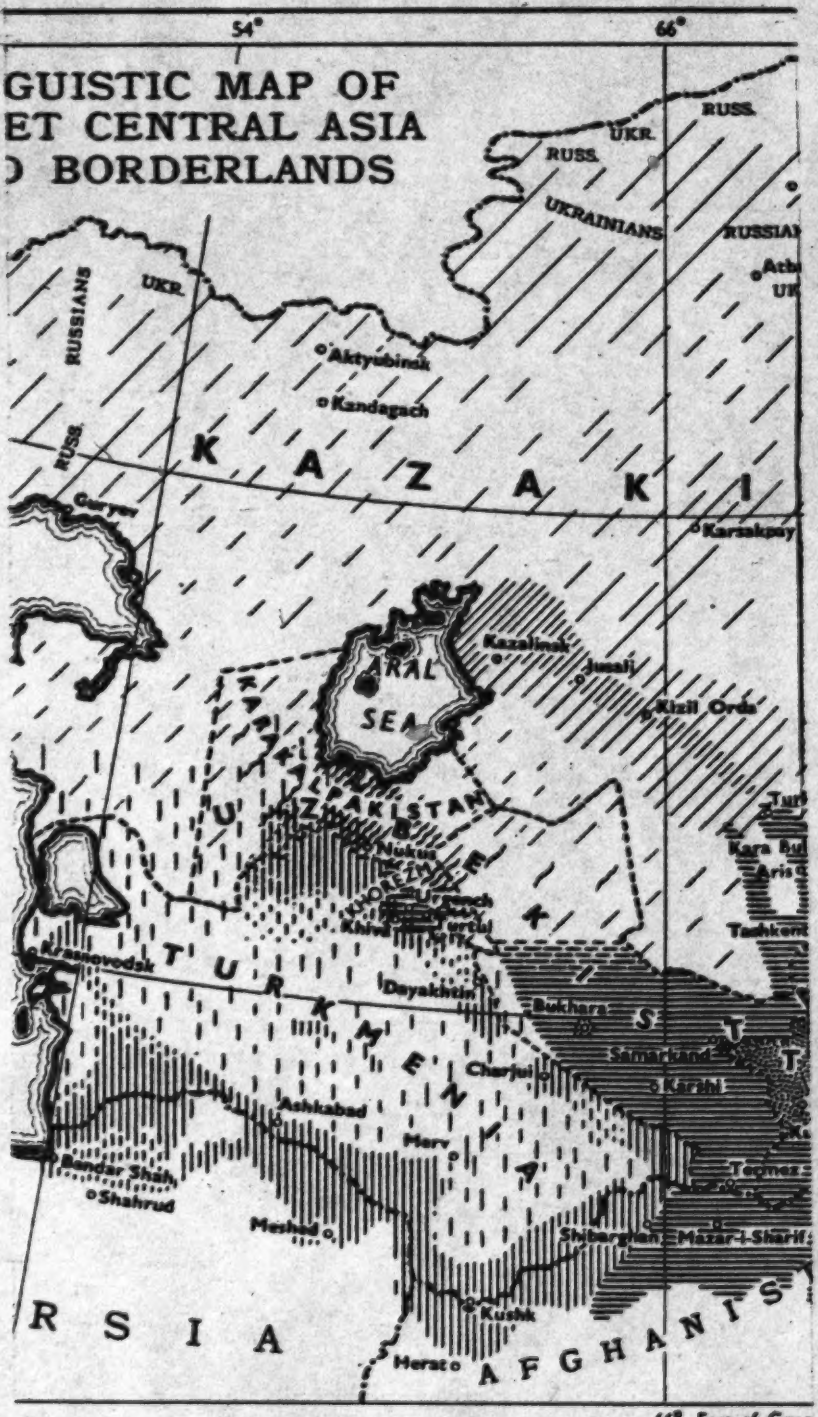

RE (MACMILLAN & CO. LTD.)

[facing page 272. - B]

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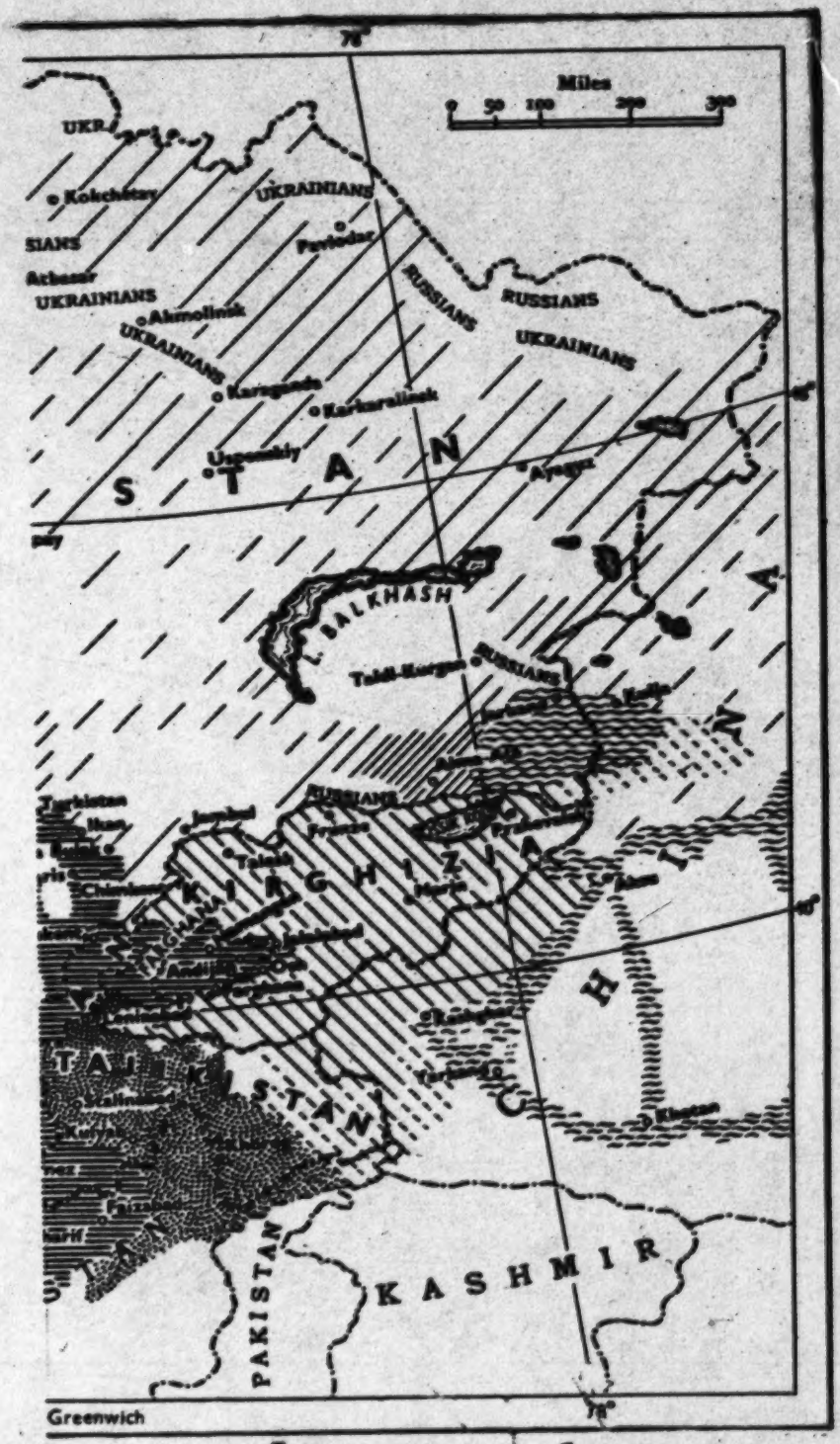

[facing page 272: C]

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

LANGUAGE

With the exception of the Tajiks, virtually all the Muslims of Central Asia speak local dialects of one and the same Turki language group. Varying cultural influences to which the individual subgroups have been subjected in the course of history have led to a certain differentiation in the vocabulary and grammar of the principal dialects. Uzbek especially, having been exposed to strong Iranian and Arabic influences, has changed much, even to the extent of losing the vowel harmony common to the sound system of the Turki languages. By and large, however, it is possible to speak of the Central Asian Muslims as possessing linguistic unity: the dialectical differences, significant as they are to the philologist, neither prevent effective communication among the Turkic inhabitants nor preclude the eventual emergence of a single Turki literary language for Central Asia. The latter, however, had not yet been formed when the Communists conquered Central Asia in the 1920's and suppressed its further development.

The importance of language for national consciousness is self-evident: language represents the most ready means of national identification, available alike to the literate and illiterate. While not absolutely indispensable for nationality (witness the Jews), it is so intimately connected with it as to make it one of nationality's very best criteria.

Soviet linguistic policy in Central Asia has two principal aspects, both of which follow closely the general lines of Soviet nationality policy. In the first place it strives at all costs to prevent the formation of a single Turki literary language in Central Asia on the assumption that such a language would serve as a powerful weapon for the forging of a united Central Asian national movement. In the second place, it endeavors to promote the acceptance of Russian as the primary language of communication among persons of different groups. The first goal is fostered by exploiting all, even the minutest, dialectical differences among the various Turkic subgroups, and by granting the status of full-fledged national-literary languages to local variants of one and the same Turki language. The second is fostered through the official change of Turki alphabets from Arabic to Latin, and then from Latin to the Russian Cyrillic; through the gradual introduction of Russian words in their original form and spelling into the native vocabularies; through compulsory Russian language instruction in all schools above the elementary level; and, finally, through the requirement of a good knowledge of Russian for all citizens, regardless of nationality, desirous of making any kind of a career. It is apparently the hope of the authorities that, given sufficient time, such policies will make Russian the language of all the socially dynamic elements of the Muslim population and relegate Turkic to the status of a peasant dialect devoid of political importance.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

and relegate Turkic to the status of a peasant dialect devoid of political importance.[8]

This policy of linguistic Russification is far more subtle than that practiced by the tsarist regime in some of its borderlands during the darkest days of modern Russian autocracy (1881–1903), and, if successful, could deal a very considerable blow to Muslim prospects in Central Asia. Thirty-five years is admittedly too short a time to judge the effects of a set of measures apparently designed to operate for several generations; but certain evidence permits us to draw some conclusions about its efficacy and prospects of success.

Soviet linguistic policies seem to have had very little effect on the speech habits of the bulk of the Muslim *rural* population. Living in their own fairly closed communities, which offer little continuous contact with Russians, the Muslim peasants continue to use exclusively their local dialects. They seem to be as ignorant of Russian as their ancestors had been. None of the peasants interviewed knew more than a few words of Russian; after ten years in Germany several could speak better German than they could Russian after several decades of residence in the Soviet Union. For most of the rural Muslims in the USSR, the first important contact with Russians and the Russian language comes with entrance into military service. After being drafted they are distributed among Russian soldiers and are expected to learn the language as best they can. For many of them, the military service is the first and most efficient school of Russian.

The situation is somewhat different in the cities and small towns, where Muslims live side by side with Russians, and where a large proportion of Muslim youths attend high schools and institutions of higher learning. It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the linguistic training in Central Asia, because it varies from area to area and from time to time. If there is a general principle, it seems to consist in a direct correlation between level of education and Russian language instruction. In the elementary schools, the instruction is predominantly in the prevailing local language, either Turki or Russian, and in areas where both groups are numerous, in both. In the secondary schools Russian is either the principal language of instruction (in schools attended largely by Russian students) or else it is taught

[8] An alternate interpretation of Soviet linguistic policies in Central Asia is suggested by a British authority, G. E. Wheeler: "[The Soviet authorities] evidently hope to achieve by russification an effect similar to that produced by the 'Arabization' of the indigenous languages of the peoples who came under Arab Islamic domination. The adoption of the Arabic script and of numerous Arabic words and phrases was a powerful factor in the perpetuation of Islam, and thus of Arab culture, even after the tide of Arab conquest had receded. But it was the *result* of conversion to Islam, not the cause, and while the Arabs may have insisted on the use of Arabic for official purposes, just as Tsarist Russia and Britain insisted on the use of Russian and English, there is no evidence that they ever instituted a policy of Arabization of existing languages. The Soviet government is attempting to achieve the same end by arbitrary means: it is insisting on the russification of Central Asian languages by the introduction of the Cyrillic script and Russian loanwords; and it even envisages the modification of grammar and phonetics." G. E. Wheeler, "Cultural Developments in Soviet Central Asia," *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. 41 (July–Oct. 1954), p. 181.

141 medium size; the lips are thick, the teeth
142 medium; the chin is round, the ears are small and flattened; the hair is black and smooth; the beard is sparse and tough. The skin is smooth, the neck powerful and the extremities medium.

●197 They[1] speak Chinese and wear Chinese
302 costume but nevertheless they shave their heads.
463 Their occupations are agriculture, gardening and various crafts. They make no celebration
844 when a child is born. The mother remains in
846 bed for fifteen days. The child receives its
553 name the day after it is born, in the presence of the mullah. The circumcision of boys is
852 performed on the eighth, ninth or tenth day.
583 A girl who is marrying receives a dowry. /332/
764 After death the body is wrapped in a white cloth
765 and buried directly in the ground. After the burial the mullahs and relatives gather for a
587 funeral feast. A widow may remarry after the
593 lapse of ninety days. In family life parental authority is very strong and the father is the absolute head of the family. The women do not
291 cover their faces. These people are outstanding
181 for their high morals, industry and hospitality.

101 12) The Kalmyks, and the Torgouts who
221 are related to them,[2] are nomads. The former nomadize in the Vernoye and Issyk-Kul uyezds of the Semirechie oblast, and the latter in the Kuldja region, around Kunges. Since 1878 the Torgouts have begun to migrate to Yulduz.

162 The 13) Sibo (18;318 persons), the
101 14) Solons (4,182 persons), and the 15) Kara-Kiti(3,032 persons) belong to the Mongol (read Manchu-Tungusic, ed.) peoples. The majority of them (21,932 persons, male and female) live

[1] [The Dungans, see cat 116, p. 11--Analyst]